

The Sun.

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1886.

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The Case of Both Sides.

There is a good story which haunts the bar to the effect that, after an attorney in stating his case has also expounded and maintained as incontestable the legal principles upon which his opponent proposes to rest his argument, the opposing attorney rises and says, "Your Honor, the learned counsel says that is his case. It is also mine."

This sometimes occurs in actual litigation, and it is also perfectly illustrated in the following remark of New York's organ of the Mugwump, the *Evening Post*, upon the present conflict over the civil service question. This is the *Post's* opinion:

"The notion that such a reform as this can be carried out by agents who hate it is of course a chimera."

To this the whole Democratic party will agree. There are two platforms for dealing with the civil service, one of which was put forth by the last Republican National Convention and was adhered to by the *Post* and all other Mugwumps, looking to non-partisan appointments and to the exclusion of the Democrats from office. The other was adopted by the Democrats, who declared for an "honest civil service reform," and for that, without reference to the principles of the Mugwumps or to the President's act, which the Republicans said should be extended, or to any contrivance or utterance which could afterward obstruct or nullify the victory which they then hoped to accomplish in the following November.

The reform for which the Mugwumps prayed, and that which the Democrats looked forward to, were diametrically opposed to one another, both in effect and nature; and it is needless to add that the Democratic reform was faithfully described by the principal adjective among the four words wherein the whole of their civil service platform was expressed.

Nevertheless, the idea that either platform can be enforced by agents who are hostile to it, and who believe in the opposite platform and desire its enforcement, is the vainest of vainities. The anti-slavery party might have hoped to see their principles carried out by JEFF DAVIS as well as voters of the present day could expect to see the Democratic idea realized by Mugwumps, or the Mugwump idea realized by Democrats.

This notion of the *Evening Post* is not new, but its expression at this time will be observed with satisfaction by its political antagonists, the Democrats. It indicates that the agents of the special system which the *Post* avows by, are giving way to officers of genuine democracy; and by so much is the chance increased of making the Administration what the Democratic party voted to make it—both Democratic and honest.

Tory Duplicity Unmasked.

The BALFOUR correspondence published in the *Tribune* yesterday should be overlooked by nobody who fancies that the Tories in their rancorous resistance to Home Rule have been moved by honest convictions, or who has paid the slightest heed to their spiteful imputation of insincerity and want of truthfulness to Mr. Gladstone. When the smoke of the present indecisive contest has rolled away, and the voters can soberly appraise the conduct and the motives of the principal combatants, these BALFOUR letters will be counted among the most conclusive documents in a case which, as it now seems probable, may have to be once more submitted to the good sense and upright feeling of the British nation.

To bring out the bearing of these letters on the sentence to be ultimately passed on the position of the Tories in the Home Rule business, let us recall some of the incidents which compelled their publication. One of the most effective parts of the campaign was the charge in his aggressive canvass was the charge that the Tories were dishonest in their denunciation of Home Rule, their professed discovery of danger to the unity of the empire being an after thought, suggested by a mean and narrow view of their party interest. That accusation could not be refuted, because one of the most eminent and trusted members of the late Tory Cabinet, LORD CARNARVON, who as Irish Viceroy was of course understood to represent the Irish policy of his colleagues, would not deny that he then favored, and favors still, a restoration of the Dublin Parliament.

When, however, the Tory chiefs perceived that their two-fold behavior toward their late Parliaments allies could not be glossed over, they fell upon the pettifogging retort, *Tu queque*, alleging that Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule was also brought about by an ignoble greed of office, and the belief that he could gain his end by concessions to the Irishmen. Thereupon, the leader of the Liberals, with the serenity and dignity of one whose motives and proceedings have no cause to shun the light, called for the publication of the letters, which, before the last Parliament convened, had passed between himself and Mr. BALFOUR, who in the then Tory Cabinet was head of the Local Government Board, and, as member of LORD SALISBURY's Ministry, was to be in confidential relations with the Tory Premier. These documents, he said, would prove that, far from being bribed in maneuvering for office during the short interval between the last elections and the meeting of Parliament, he offered to renounce the easy task of turning out the Tories, and to give his nominal opponents a loyal support, if they would hold their hands off from the ground of justice and equity which Lord CARNARVON had already taken. Let them faithfully carry out the promise of restoring to Ireland her Parliament, which Mr. PARSONS was justified in ascribing to the Tory Viceroy, and the powerful influence of GLADSTONE should be allowed upon their side.

No wonder that the Tories shrank from giving to the world such evidence as would have placed their crooked jobbery and Mr. GLADSTONE's magnanimity in searching alumnus. They endeavored to suppress the documents, and they did hold them back until the elections had actually begun, when their hand was forced by the appearance in print of the letter written on Dec. 29 by Mr. GLADSTONE to Mr. BALFOUR, in which the latter is distinctly informed that, "if the Tories would bring on a proposal for settling the whole question of the future government of Ireland," they should be sustained

by the Liberal leader in the same spirit in which he had upheld the Tory foreign policy during the autumn of last year. It was plain from the whole tenor of this letter that in the Tory's conviction, as he supposed, in his correspondence, "the whole question of the future government of Ireland" could be "settled" in one way only, that is, by a re-assertion of the Dublin Parliament.

Yet because the phrase "Home Rule" did not happen to occur in this letter, though the purpose of it in every line, LORD RANDOLPH CECIL, who has played a part of extraordinary pettiness and baseness in this canvass, pretended that Mr. GLADSTONE had tried to trap the gullible Tories into a vague compact of joint action, which might and probably did cover an intention of coercion. Then Mr. GLADSTONE, in a laudable indignation at such scandalous distortion of truth, challenged Mr. BALFOUR to say whether the conversation between them at Eaton Hall, in which his published letter was upon its face a summary and outcome, did not turn upon the (GLADSTONE'S) warning that Home Rule must be speedily conceded to Ireland.

Then at last Mr. BALFOUR, on Friday of last week, the second day of the elections, gave the whole correspondence to the press, and, most ungraciously and with the largest possible infusion of malice, his impressions of the conversation at Eaton Hall. He admits that he said: "In other words, Mr. GLADSTONE, we are to be blown up and stabbed if we do not grant Home Rule by the first of the next session." Mr. GLADSTONE answered, "I understand that the time is shorter than that." We need not dwell on the ineffable meanness of the insinuation that Mr. GLADSTONE's vindication of the cause of justice and humanity is prompted by no higher impulse than a pusillanimous desire to save his skin. A man capable of imputing such motives is quite equal to inventing them; or, if we assume that the motion was actually given as reported, it would only prove that Mr. GLADSTONE knew and despised his interlocutor. But no matter how reluctantly and spitefully the truth has been uncovered, the world now knows what history will record, the Tories had, and for that, an unequivocal offer from Mr. GLADSTONE to renounce all office for himself, if thereby his eyes might witness and his last energies cooperate in the establishment of peace and content and amity in Ireland.

Should the State Teach Religion?

At a public meeting in New York not very long ago President SELBY of Amherst College took the ground that the State should teach religion as a measure of self-preservation. He has amplified his remarks in a paper in the July number of the *Forum*.

His argument is that because of its secularization popular education has signally failed to produce the good results expected from it. Crime and vice, pauperism and vagrancy, insanity and suicide, are all increasing in our best-educated States. "The two institutions upon which the very existence of society depends are property and the family," says President SELBY, "but there has certainly never been such a general decline in these as in this enlightened nineteenth century, and nowhere is the struggle carried forward with such fierce animosity as in the cities and States most conspicuous for their culture." The more we expend for education the more the trouble seems to him to increase, so that it has become a question whether "we are not lighting the torch of the incendiary rather than that of the guide."

President SELBY then proceeds to lay down the proposition which he regards as almost self-evident, that the religious instruction of a people is indispensable, not merely to their welfare, but to their very existence. Accordingly, even if other agencies could perform the work he holds that the undertaking is of such transcendent importance to the State, is so truly the one work upon which the very salvation of society depends, that the State cannot afford to leave it in any other hands than its own. "The theory on which the State gives education to the people is that thereby they are made better citizens." But a better grammarian, a better arithmetician, a better geographer, is not, as such, a better citizen. He is the better citizen only as he is the better man, and he is the better man only as he is the more loyal to truth and duty—in other words, only as he is the more obedient to God.

Education without religion is therefore to President SELBY, thinking no proper education at all, and instead of benefiting the citizen and the State it may prove harmful to both. The objection that State religious instruction would invade the conscience of some of the people he meets by the declaration that "no wise Government will let the conscience of its subjects control its public policy." "Is it an injustice," he asks, "to tax the Quaker for the military and naval defenses by which the country is preserved from invasion, conscientiously opposed though he be to war and all its machinery? And is it any more of an injustice to tax an irreligious person for the religious instruction of the people, by which alone their existence is to be maintained?"

But what religion shall the State teach? The religion of JESUS CHRIST, says President SELBY, "Hence I say," are his words, "that the State should provide for instruction in the Gospels, for its own preservation." If the life of JULIUS CÆSAR is taught in our schools, he sees no reason why we should not teach the life of JESUS CHRIST as well, for "the life of JESUS CHRIST is, to say the least, no less authentically recorded for us than the life of JULIUS CÆSAR."

This would be all very well if the people, who make the State, were agreed as to the religion of Jesus, and the proper manner of teaching it, or if the vast majority of them were so agreed. But, in the first place, a large part of the inhabitants have no belief in that religion. There are Jews, pagans, and infidels, and they refuse to accept "the general historical accuracy of the Gospels," which make the State, were agreed as to the religion of Jesus, and the proper manner of teaching it, or if the vast majority of them were so agreed. But, in the first place, a large part of the inhabitants have no belief in that religion. There are Jews, pagans, and infidels, and they refuse to accept "the general historical accuracy of the Gospels," which make the State, were agreed as to the religion of Jesus, and the proper manner of teaching it, or if the vast majority of them were so agreed. But, in the first place, a large part of the inhabitants have no belief in that religion. 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